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AN INQUIRY
INTO THE
NATURE AND RESULTS
OF THE
ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION,
WITH A VIEW AT THE
PROSPECT BEFORE US.

BY A CITIZEN OF ALABAMA.

PART I.

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THE PROSPECT BEFORE US.

THE existence of a general discontent through the Southern States, founded upon the concessions to the overbearing and aggressive spirit of the Northern people, in the legislation of Congress, relative to the Pacific territories, is undeniable.

Some division exists here, as to the nature of the remedy to be employed, and some think that patient submission is the best remedy; but a vast majority hold that the Southern States have endured great indignity and injustice at the hands of Congress.

The Southern States in their material condition are well situated. Their industry is amply rewarded. Economy has relieved their people from debt. Loyalty to government, obedience to laws, care for State interests, attention to local improvements, have stimulated the growth of all their domestic interests. Averse to rash innovations and radical changes in their institutions, they have been contented with a steady and gradual progress. There is nothing to disturb their peace, but the intermeddling and contumelious treatment they have experienced, in reference to their social institutions. The history of the past will show that the Northern States for years ~~past~~ have manifested unfriendly purposes, while the Southern States have borne with forbearance, reiterated oppressions

and injuries. These have become of a character so serious—involve to such a degree the honor, security and peace of the Southern States—that the most torpid of their citizens have become anxious to see “the prospect before us.” Our object is to examine the nature of the evils which beset us, and the magnitude of the dangers by which we are environed.

Slavery in the formation of the Constitution of the U. States.

The mighty influence which the existence of slavery operates upon the organization of a State, is discoverable upon the slightest reflection. The difficulty of adjusting the relations between slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, combined under a democratic form of government, was painfully evinced in the proceedings, which terminated in the adoption of the Federal Constitution. A proposition was made by the Northern States a few days after the Declaration of Independence, that contributions should be levied and taxes paid by the confederate States in proportion to their *entire* population. The Southern States objected, that this apportionment was *unequal*, and that slaves should be *excluded* from the enumeration. In the Convention ~~that~~ formed the Constitution, it was soon discovered that all grounds of difference could be removed, and all occasions for mistrust accommodated with more facility than those originating in this institution. Varieties of climate, diversities of pursuit, incongruities of character, and discordance in religious opinions, found in the several States, were more readily reconciled, than the radical opposition growing out of the tolerance of this institution. It was more easy to afford the proper guaranties for every other interest than this great and controlling interest in the Southern States. The point of difference in the Convention lay, according to Madison, Pinckney, King, Morris and Butler, between the

Southern and Eastern States—arising from the presence or absence of this institution in those States. The minds of the ablest of that body were interrogated in vain for securities adequate to the protection of this peculiar element. Compromises were made here, concessions there, and to posterity was bequeathed the office of a final solution of the difficulties. The difficulties which the convention could not surmount, were covered over for the while, in the hope, that time would afford the solution. Whether slaves are to be treated as persons or property, and in what cases they are deemed persons, and what property, are subjects of dispute now between the sections of the country. Then, if regarded as persons, must the government hold them to be slaves, and in what places, and under what circumstances? The word slave is not mentioned in the Constitution, and stipulations to avoid embarrassment seem to have been studiously deprecated. The probability is, that this reserve, originated in the irreconcilable opinions of men from opposite portions of the country. The most palpable and essential subjects for settlement—those in which the relations of the slave population to the government, as objects of taxation and commerce, and as affording a basis of representation—exercised all the faculties of the Convention. They dared not penetrate into the questions which might come to disturb the confederacy. They adjourned those, until they should legitimately arise. “Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof,” is engraven in large characters upon the frontispiece of the Constitution. This policy, has guided those who, have since been charged with the administration of the government. From time to time, slavery and its influences have led to commotions: after excitement and exasperation, a truce has been concluded, and a few more years of uneasiness, but of peace, have been secured.

Slavery under the Constitution.

There were broad lines of division between the statesmen from the different sections of the Union drawn in the first years of the Union, and which still separate them into parties. Under the confederation, especially, in regard to the territories, there was a strong tendency to geographical parties. An animated and active feeling, concerning their ownership, at one time existed, in which sectional jealousies were plainly discernible. These were calmed by the surrender, on the part of Virginia, of the Northwest territory, and the interdict of slavery from penetrating it. We shall hereafter state the account between the two sections; we simply mention now that the Western territories formed a bone of contention in which sectional jealousies were displayed. The strength of the two parties, formed in the first days of the republic, and which now exist under different names, lay in different parts of the Union.

The Republican party, jealous of a Central power, attached to the federative features of the system, devoted to the checks provided by a written constitution, and confident in the capacities of the people, found its support, principally, in the Southern States. The National party,—cultivating power, fortifying authority, imposing checks and constraints, not upon the government, but upon the people,—allied itself to the navigation, manufacturing and trading interests, and won their attachment and support by legislative aids and bounties. This party found the resources of its strength in the Northern States. A diversity of interest engendered a diversity of opinion, and in party hostility sectional rivalry sprung up. These sectional rivalries are seen with some distinctness in the civil revolution of 1800. They spoke out upon the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana; they rose into violent agitation prior to and during the late war

with Great Britain. They inflicted a fatal wound upon the Constitution and the equality of the Southern States, by the adoption of the Missouri restriction clause. They now menace the perpetuity of the Union and the integrity of the Constitution. A careful examination of the subject will show that from the Declaration of Independence till 1833 the competitions of statesmen and parties formed the principal ground of the division. The public mind was under the guidance of cool and calculating minds, who had an immediate interest in preventing extremities.

During this long period there were no Abolition societies, and but few anti-slavery discussions. The Colonization Society was reared by Southern men, and served as an escape pipe for such of the consciences of the Southern politicians *as were tender and* SCRUPULOUS. Mr. Clay, as early as 1818, was quite a patron of this institution.

Abolition Societies.

The first general Abolition Society formed in the United States was organized in Boston, in 1832. The Society announced "that every person, of full age and "sane mind, has a right to *immediate* freedom from "personal bondage of whatsoever kind, unless imposed by the sentence of the law for the commission of some crime. We hold that man cannot consistently with reason, religion, and the eternal and "immutable principles of justice, be the property of "man."

Their objects were declared to be, "by all means "sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to *effect* "the ABOLITION of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of free people of "color; to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, AND OBTAIN FOR "THEM EQUAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND PRI-

"VILEGES WITH THE WHITES." They say in their first address, "we believe slavery is an evil *now*; and of course the slaves ought *now* to be emancipated: if the thief is found in possession of stolen property he is required immediately to relinquish it." They say, "the master must manumit his slave, or the slave will manumit himself. We have no doubt that the God of Heaven, who is a God of justice, is at this moment at his Word and Providence *setting before the Southern Planter this very alternative*; and this alternative embraces life and death, a blessing and a curse. To choose the first, and say to the slave be free, is to shut the floodgates of human woe and human blood. To choose the latter, and hold the colored man in vassalage, must ere long break up the fountains of the great deep, and have a direct tendency to unsheathe the sword of vengeance, revolution and death."

Sombre, as these vaticinations are, the Society disclaimed the purpose of contributing to their accomplishment. They resolved not to interfere, except, by the employment of "*moral means*." They expressed unlimited confidence in the conclusion, that there could be no arrest of the principles they put forth, nor of their overpowering influence. This Society was local in its influence, and confined in the sphere of its operation. They make no allusion in their first address to political agents. They seemed to regard slavery entirely from the position of morals and religion, and the removal of it as a matter of conscience.

The following year the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in New York, by men practised in the business of the world, and whose views were much more employed about worldly influences and instrumentalities. This Society has its dogmas of religion and politics. The preamble, and two of the articles of the constitution, exhibit so plainly its pur-

poses, that we cannot furnish more precise information of its objects than by copying them at large:

"The most high God hath made of one blood all the families of man to dwell on the face of all the earth, and hath endowed all alike with the same inalienable rights, of which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; yet there are now in this land more than two millions of human beings, possessed of the same deathless spirits, and heirs to the same immortal hopes and destinies with ourselves, who are, nevertheless, deprived of these their sacred rights, and kept in the most cruel and abject bondage; a bondage under which human beings are bred and fattened for the market, and then bought, sold, mortgaged, leased, bartered, fettered, tasked, scourged, beaten, killed, hunted, even like the veriest brutes,—nay, made often the unwilling victims of ungodly lust; while, at the same time, their minds are, by law and custom, generally shut out from all access to letters, and in various other ways all their upward tendencies are repressed and crushed, so as to make their 'moral and religious condition such that they may justly be considered the heathen of this country;' and since we regard such oppressions as one of the greatest wrongs that man can commit against his fellow; and existing as it does, and tolerated as it is, under this free and Christian government, sapping its foundation, bringing its institutions into contempt among other nations, thus retarding the march of freedom and religion, and strengthening the hands of despotism and irreligion throughout the world; and since we deem it a duty to ourselves, to our government, to the world, to the oppressed, and to God, to do all we can to end this oppression, and to secure an immediate and entire emancipation of the oppressed; and believe we can act most efficiently in the cause in the way of combined and organized action:—Therefore, we, the undersigned, do form ourselves into a Society for the purpose."

"Art. 2. The object of this Society is the entire abolition of Slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State in which slavery exists has, by the Constitution of the United States, *the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in that State*, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, *that slave holding is a heinous crime in the sight of God*; and that the duty, safety and best interest of all concerned require its *immediate abandonment, without expatriation*. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to *put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia*, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may hereafter be admitted.

"Art. 3. This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing prejudice; that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, *share an equality with the whites of civil and political privileges*; but the Society will never countenance the *oppressed* in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force."

This Society undertook an arrangement of the scheme of agitation for the country. Its means consisted in the formation of auxiliary societies, wherever they could be formed: In the *unsparing* circulation of tracts, circulars and pamphlets: In the enlistment of Preachers to mingle anti-slavery inculcations with their teachings: To engage the Pulpit and Press in the cause of abolition: To array the powerful

organization of the Church and political parties as allies in their work, and to give a preference to the productions of free over those of slave labor.

At a very early day, they announced their purpose "to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth: to deliver our land from its deadliest curse: to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon: and, to secure *to the colored population of the United States all the privileges and rights which belong to them as men and as Americans.*"

It will be observed that *immediate abolition* is the shibboleth of the party. There was to be no preparation of the community; no expedients to lighten the burden of this tremendous revolution. The consummation, was to be instant with its commencement. The array of means manifests no conviction that the work would be an easy one. Their plans, required the labors of years and the dedication of lives. Steadily, and perseveringly, have the labors been performed and the devotion been displayed. A careful analysis of the various methods they have put in operation to effect "THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES"—the grand result placed before them—enables us to reduce them to a single principle. Their plan of action consists in the declaration, "*I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazing stock.*" "That slavery is a heinous crime in the sight of God," are the all-devouring words, with which their assaults upon us are pointed.

The transmission of tracts, papers, prints and books through the mails formed their primitive mode of action. The strong hand of the people, South, was raised at once in resistance to this, and an end was put to it. For a time, a disposition was shown to send anti-slavery lecturers, but these were repelled; auxiliary societies, to the number of fifteen hundred, were

formed over the Northern and Western States. Money was collected for the main society, amounting to between \$40 and \$50,000 per annum. Six or seven hundred thousand papers, prints and pamphlets were annually circulated, some of which display the highest order of literary talent, and were prepared by men of extended reputation. The transactions of 1838-9 show the collection during that year of \$47,111 74c. The circulation of 360,000 newspapers, 210,639 pamphlets, 19,958 bound volumes, 93,875 tracts, and 38,440 circulars. The same proceedings show the employment of lecturers and agents to traverse the country, to foster and propagate their enterprise. In accordance with their fundamental object of blackening the institution of slavery, an early effort was made to enlist Congress to their purpose.

Agitation in Congress.

The first debates incited by these societies, occurred in the early part of 1835. Petitions for the abolition of slavery in the Federal District were introduced and a motion was made to refer them to a special committee. The object of the motion was to secure a favorable report. The first counsel given and embraced by the South was to answer the petitions. This was done in an elaborate Report, drawn with ability by the member representing the Charleston district of South Carolina. The comment of the New England Anti-Slavery Society upon the debate in which these proceedings originated places their purpose distinctly before us: This purpose, it will be seen, was to blacken the institution of slavery, until the slaveholder shall be regarded and treated as a Barbary pirate. "Every thing the Southern members said," declares the Society, "only confirmed us in the persuasion that we must persist, until we *get the subject of slavery fully before Congress*. No mea-

sure will be more effectual to diffuse information and enkindle thought and feeling throughout the land. Congress is as the central sun. It sends light and warmth to the extremities of the system which revolves about it. The considerations which will lead to the abolition of this *horrible institution* in the District *will bear with equal weight* against it in every part of the country. *At the same time we overthrow the system there, we shall heave the foundation everywhere.* This our *Southern brethren* see, and therefore *will they resist* all attempts of Congress to act upon the subject, *aye, even to entertain a petition.* But they *must be given to understand, that we see this result of the action of Congress as clearly as they do; and for this very reason,* among others, shall never give over our endeavor to induce our National Legislature to remove slavery from within their own jurisdiction."

There are those who condemn the action of the noble band of Southern statesmen, who resisted from the beginning the effort to introduce that subject into Congress. We hear it stated, and we read it in print, that had a committee been appointed, with John Quincy Adams for chairman, we should have heard nothing more of abolition after his report. Such declarations betray absolute ignorance of the subject, as well as the disposition to cast the blame of the present crisis upon Southern patriots, to the relief of the abolition politicians and abolitionists, North. We have quoted from the first Report of the leading Abolition Society, to show *wherefore* petitions to Congress were made.

That the conduct of Southern statesmen may be fully vindicated, we shall abstract from an Address of a prominent officer of the principal society, delivered before it, and which is bound and circulated with its Reports. "The committee to which the petitions must be referred," he says, "should be *friendly to jus-*

tice, determined to do its duty, and have power to send for persons and papers." The committee should send for all the codes of slave-laws of the several States, "*statute books of crime*," "*full of high treason against God and humanity*." The committee should send for ten experienced planters, to state, as honest men, "*whether the question has not often been discussed among them which is most profitable, to work slaves to death in five years when cotton is 14 cents a pound, or to work them twenty years with cotton at 10 cents*." Then, let the committee send for an hundred free men, from the Slave States, who never owned a slave, themselves or their relations, and let them tell what they know of the *pollutions* incident to slavery. Then, let them send for Northern men, who have sold themselves, body and soul, as overseers: Interrogate them "as to the modes of subduing a refractory spirit; of detecting whether a slave feigns sickness or is sick, and of the expedients by which an overseer builds up a reputation as a labor getter." Then, send for one hundred free men of color to testify of their wrongs. "Let each tell of the hairbreadth escapes he has made from being kidnapped into slavery." Then, call one hundred fugitives from the States, who have taken refuge in Canada; hear them tell of "hopes crushed and hearts broken," and the sufferings and anxieties through which they have passed into freedom. Finally, bring one hundred slaves from the cotton plantations and sugar houses, to "give ocular demonstration of slavery. They should show their persons abused, their wounds and gashes, their *backs cut* from the shoulders downwards *with Republican stripes*."

Whether a report from Mr. John Quincy Adams could have quieted people of this description, we think it useless to discuss. We shall hereafter have occasion to see what Mr. Adams would probably have written. The Congress after Pinckney's Report was

marked by the reception of petitions containing 414,571 names. Within the same Congress, resolutions came from Vermont, Ohio and Massachusetts, conforming, in a greater or less degree, to the anti-slavery model; while Maine, New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Michigan simply opposed the annexation of Texas. In the winter of 1837, Mr. Slade of Vermont, fitted out with these petitions, commenced an anti-slavery harangue, full of violence, and moved their reference, with instructions to report a bill to *abolish slavery* in the District of Columbia. The Southern members, in much excitement, convened and determined to present the resolution known as Patton's resolution, which became the 21st rule of the House. It was adopted by a vote of 122 to 74. During the same session, the Senate adopted a series of resolutions submitted by Mr. Calhoun, and which in a subsequent part of this essay we shall set out at length. During the next Congress, (1838-9) the resolutions of Atherton, denouncing the designs of the abolitionists, and re-enacting the 21st rule, were adopted. The resolution of Patton was adopted by a vote of 127 to 78. This rule provided "that each petition, memorial, resolution, proposition or paper, touching or relating to slavery, or the abolition thereof, shall be laid on the table without further debate." The same Congress was signalized by the resolutions of Mr. John Quincy Adams, providing for amendments of the Constitution for the abolition of *hereditary slavery* in 1852, through the United States: For a *prohibition* upon the *admission* of any State to the Union which *tolerated slavery, after the admission of Florida*; and for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia in 1845. At a subsequent session, Mr. Adams introduced a petition asking for a dissolution of the Union. In 1842, Mr. Giddings introduced the whole abolition argument, and moved instructions to the Executive to

cease the demand upon Great Britain for indemnities for slaves taken from the Creole by the British authorities at Nassau. Massachusetts, by the *unanimous* vote of her legislature, 1843, called for an amendment of the Constitution, so as to abolish the representation founded on slaves in Congress. This was one of the compromises of the Constitution. This decision of sovereign States to agitate on this subject, and bring slavery "*fully before Congress*," occasioned the Southern representatives to abandon their ground.

"From this day forth and forever," said Mr. Wise, from Virginia, "I withdraw from the fight. To Mr. Adams and those with him I leave the responsibility of doing what they will. *But here in the name of God and of my country, upon whose altar I have sworn to defend the Constitution, I tell those gentlemen of the awful responsibility they incur by this attempt to destroy the Constitution.*"

The leaders of the anti-slavery hosts declared that "at the close of each successive year we have reason to rejoice and take courage, in the thickening signs that portend the downfall of slavery. They whose eyes are *open to watch the portents which surround them, see that slavery is overshadowed by an inexorable destiny, which is achieving her destruction with silent but inevitable power.* Since the first word that was spoken, breaking the enchanted slumbers of the North, *defying the sorceries and the power of slavery, and demanding her instant destruction,* every thing has seemed to conspire to accelerate her doom. The world is arrayed against her. *Her champions are fainting from fear. Her mercenaries are deserting her for more profitable service. Even her own fastnesses are not sufficient to protect her. Voices are heard in the air, prophesying her fall.* Omens in the Capitols of the Nations and of the States, in the churches, in the saloons, in the market place, in the workshop, in

the field and by the wayside, tell that her hour is at hand."

Since the time we have mentioned, slavery has had a firm hold upon the attention of Congress. Those who have not attentively regarded the subject, would be mortified at the abuse of the time of Congress, and the waste of national treasure, in discussions aimed to produce discord, and to loosen the bonds of the confederacy. This waste of time and treasure is the most insignificant concern connected with it. The fundamental organization of every State, though properly the subject of fair and temperate discussion, ought never to be made the basis of violent and agitating controversies, and the objects of systematic and incendiary attacks. The prosperity of every community is dependent upon its confidence in its own stability. There is a faith in the integrity of the institutions of the State, and that these institutions cannot be the subject of a sudden, violent and reckless overturn which is essential to the happiness, peace and quiet of a people. In this case, aliens to our institutions have become their assailants.

The reputation and renown of the Southern people are made the objects of persevering and unceasing detraction. Calumny pursues individuals and States. The societies of all civilized States, Christian sects in every land, are required to shut us from their communion. The interest of our nation, the Constitution of our government, and the peace of our country, hold and exercise less control over a large party in the Union, than the desire of delivering our Southern communities to the consequences of *immediate emancipation*. Texas would have been surrendered to British supremacy, and our institutions exposed to British abolitionism, at the behests of this party. The mighty interests invested in the culture and manufacture of cotton would be prostrated at the instigation

of the East India Company, if it could be done by a change in the social relations of the Southern States. George Thompson, the abolition member of the British Parliament, from one of the London districts, pledges himself to destroy American slavery, by driving American cottons from the British market. He receives from this country applause and encouragement. The American minister in Great Britain was, a few years ago, insulted there, and the news was received with delight here. The insult was given to a slaveholder, and this atoned for the national indignity.

With such feelings existing in a community between its different portions, it is obvious that there can be no lasting or permanent union. If reputation abroad, and peace at home, cannot be secured; if the reputation of one part of the country is habitually diminished abroad by another portion, and its peace at home jeopardized, what moral basis is there for a Union? Without such a moral basis, of course, the law will soon lose its power. Congress, by countenancing and encouraging the agitation of the slavery question, has gone very far to destroy the legitimate foundations on which the confederacy alone can exist.

We shall notice hereafter other votes, that have been given, showing the diseased condition of the Northern mind. In one of the addresses, circulated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, the measures of the Society are elucidated with great distinctness. The speaker says, "Before slavery can be abolished in the District of Columbia, there must be a discussion of the whole subject on the floors of both Houses of Congress. All the arguments with which *abolitionists have flooded the North*, would then be brought forward to prove the *intrinsic iniquity*, the *cruelty*, the *impolicy* of slaveholding. A *thorough discussion* of this whole subject, in the *halls of our National Legislature*, would be equal to a *discussion* in the Legislature of

every slaveholding State in the Union. The act of abolition being done, the moral influence of it would pierce to the heart of the whole system. It would pronounce and sign its death warrant. It would be the solemn verdict of the nation, decreeing the annihilation of this dark abomination. The highest legislative body of the Union, representing the whole people, would declare slavery to be unfit to live—for let us not forget that Congress will abolish it, not because it has the power, but because of its intrinsic wickedness. The act would speak in authoritative tones to every slaveholding State, Go thou and do likewise. It would write in letters of flashing fire, over the gateway of the National Capitol, "No admittance for slavery." The whole system would thus be outlawed, branded with ignominy, consigned to execration, and ultimate destruction."

Thus it will be seen that the indirect consequences of the act are regarded with more interest than the act itself. The principle is sought, with far more avidity than the results to flow from its immediate application. The same consequences are sought for, in the abolition of the slave trade between the States. "Only a small portion of the natural increase of slaves is needed to cultivate the corn, the tobacco and hemp of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and parts of Virginia and North Carolina, and were it not for this grand canal of horrors, the 'infernal slave trade,' the dark waters would overflow and drown the *profitableness* of the system in these States, and *compel* them to EMANCIPATE in order to *save* themselves from *destruction*. Therefore, it has been well said, that *this trade* is the great jugular vein of slavery. And if Congress will employ the same weapon with which it clove down the foreign slave trade, *to cut this infernal artery*, the monster would *die*—*starvation* would slowly, but surely, *consume* him in his Southern, and *apoplexy* in his Northern abode. Fifteen years would number him among the dishonored dead."

The power to admit new States into the Union, is also referred to as an auxiliary in the object they have so boldly and intrepidly declared as the inducement to their association. "See," say they, "that almost boundless region stretching from Lakes Michigan and Superior, westward, to the sunset—fertilized with its hundred rivers, studded with its beautiful lakes, rich in its luxuriant soil, undulated with its gentle forest slopes, and diversified with its unshadowed prairies, all uniting to lure the huntsman and husbandman, the mechanic and the merchant. See your Lowells and your Springfields, your Rochesters and Buffalos—your Pittsburgs—springing up, with scenic rapidity, till the whole of this vast region is covered with Keystone and Empire States. And thanks be to the *God of Freedom*, the footprint of a slave shall never pollute and curse this modern Eden. Here, sir, is our final hope for the extermination of slavery. Six or eight large States shall yet march into the Union, with free banners floating in the breeze. Open the doors wide, and beckon in State after State, from the North-west and the General Government is in our hands. Then the perpetuation of freedom will be the great idea of national legislation. Slavery will melt away before its burning action, till the last vestige of it shall have disappeared."

We have shown the votes of Congress upon several questions, indicating a strong force in the Northern States, at all times, in favor of the abolition views. The examination will show that force constantly increasing. Witness the votes on the right to petition, or rather to agitate. Upon the admission of Florida, 1845, the motion was made to exclude her until she removed the clause from her Constitution prohibiting her legislature from abolishing slavery, and authorizing the legislature to exclude the free blacks. The vote was 77 yeas to 88 nays.

The *Oregon proviso* was carried by the Northern

vote, in both houses of Congress, only four in the House of Representatives to the contrary. The Wil-mot proviso, repeatedly, received the same universal demonstrations of favor. Mr. Palfrey asked leave to introduce bills to provide for the abrogation of slavery in the District of Columbia, which was refused, 82 to 69. These votes will indicate the continually increasing subordination to the anti-slavery standard. We propose now to consider another important branch of the abolition agencies.

State Legislatures.

The action of State legislatures has been principally concerned in rendering nugatory the act for the recovery of fugitive slaves. The rule adopted in Great Britain, that a slave became free by removal beyond the jurisdiction of the law which maintained the relation, was brought vividly to the public, by abolition discussions, and is enforced by Northern courts. Fugitive slaves, the Constitution provides, "*shall be delivered*" on the claim of the master. There is no room for equivocation or ambiguity. The act of 1793 looked to the agencies of State officers and tribunals for its execution. New York, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, at different periods, provided *jury trials* to ascertain the fact of servitude. The acts of the first mentioned States were contrived to render the process of recovery of fugitive slaves slow, costly and embarrassing. Ample provisions were made for costs, continuances, &c.

These laws were highly esteemed by the anti-slavery party, and strongly supported. "A trial by jury," says Dr. Channing, "ought to be granted to the suspected fugitive, as being the most effectual provision for innocence known to our laws. It is said, that under such a process, the slave will not be restored to his master. Undoubtedly, the jury is an imperfect

tribunal, and may often fail of a wise and just administration of the laws. But, as we have seen, the first question to be asked is,—How shall the free man be preserved from being sentenced to slavery? This is an infinitely greater evil than the escape of the fugitive; and to avert this, a trial by jury should be granted." It is obvious that Dr. Channing was pressed for an argument to vindicate the abolitionists' demand, being unwilling to adopt the one they put forward.

The abolitionists said, "Give the panting fugitive this inestimable right, in every Northern State he is safe—for where can you find twelve impartial men among us, who will decide, on their oaths, that a man has not *a better right to himself, than another has to him—that the blood which runs in his veins is not his own—that the right to liberty is not inalienable. Secure this right to fugitives, and all the Northern States of the Southern part of the confederacy will be drained of their slaves.*"

The principles on which these State laws were formed, were declared to be in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, by the Supreme Court. The same States immediately after passed acts forbidding their officers and citizens to aid in the recapture of a fugitive, and imposing heavy penalties upon the master for any interruption of the peace, in the recapture of a slave. Thus, systematically, did the States, in their corporate action, set at naught their confederate and constitutional obligations.

The States North have employed, to the content of the abolitionists, their powers of passing resolutions condemnatory of slavery, and in advancing the progress of their measures before Congress.

We recollect but one State, which did not enforce the adoption of the Wilmot proviso, and which does not countenance, directly, the agitation of other measures upon the subject. The most flagrant case

of this kind, is that of Massachusetts,—twice adopting the motion to amend the Constitution, abolishing slave representation in Congress—a motion which received the stern rebuke of our own General Assembly.

The refusal of the Governors of New York and Maine to render felons accused of stealing slaves, ~~is an~~ another instance of subserviency to the same abolition ideas.

Parties.

We have shown the agencies employed by the abolitionists. The control over the political parties of the country was another prominent feature in their mode of action. In 1837, the American Anti-Slavery Society adopted the resolution to interrogate candidates as to their opinions. Are you in favor of the right of petition? Are you in favor of the exclusion of Texas from the Union? Do you favor the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia? Do you favor the abolition of the slave trade between the States? were questions submitted to candidates for Congress by the auxiliary societies, under the direction of their principal. President Fillmore, it may be recollected, answered these questions satisfactorily to the Abolition Society of Erie county, in 1838. The same questions were propounded, at that time, to the candidates for Governor and Lieut. Governor of New York. The Abolition Report says, "Of the Whig candidates, Mr. Bradish, for Lieutenant Governor, answered fully and satisfactorily, in every point; *Mr. Seward, for Governor, was, on all points, the reverse, though with much effort to make it appear he was at heart the friend of freedom,* The Democratic candidates, both, answered fully and promptly in the negative." Gov. Marcy has, from the beginning, been a faithful opponent of the abolitionists, and for that reason, perhaps, has been totally overthrown in New York.

The conduct of the other politicians we have mentioned, furnishes matter for reflection. The course of proceeding we have referred to has produced the most powerful changes through the Northern States. The old friends of the South, have either been driven to obscurity, or have surrendered their opinions. Marcy, Dickinson, Beardsley, of New York; Vroom and Wall, of New Jersey; Woodbury and Pearce, of New Hampshire; Hannegan, Allen, Buchanan and Dallas, have made room for the Seward, Hales, Coopers, Dayton, Millers, Chases, Ewings. The great parties of the Union hold together by the cohesion of old connection and public office. Mr. Clay, however, announces that the contest has finally come to be whether the agitation on slavery shall destroy the Union, or the Union shall suppress the slavery agitation. This declaration, too, is made within three months from the time peace was announced, through one hundred guns, at the Capital.

Churches.

The Church has been the chosen object of abolition proselytism from the inception of their enterprise. To enlist the "Pulpit and the Press," and to purify the church from the contamination of slavery, was proclaimed as a primary point in their creed. Within two years, they had above 1500 ministers engaged as members. The great denominations of Protestant Christians at the North, have generally consented to their views. The Unitarian ministers, in a body, very early after the agitation commenced, proclaimed slavery to be "a moral and social evil, offensive to God and oppressive to man," "and ought to cease as soon as possible." This opinion has been reiterated in addresses at home, and directed abroad, and is inculcated steadily and consistently. The last instance is the expression of their "detestation" for the late fugitive slave act, and

a pledge to aid its repeal. The Freewill Baptists say, "that slavery is a system, murderous in its nature, tendency, and its actual results. A system of robbery the most aggravated—robbing man of all his rights, personal, civil and domestic—his rights, corporal and intellectual—his rights, temporal, spiritual and eternal." The Methodist Church, in consequence of an attempt to depose Bishop Andrew, for holding slaves, derived with his wife in marriage, was rent asunder, and churches, North and South, were formed. Since then, the Northern church has excluded the South from all the common property of the Association:—Furnishing a miniature in the Church, of the melancholy transactions going on in the State. The American Baptist Missionary Society adopted "a resolution to exclude slaveholders from employment as Missionaries." This led to a disruption in that society. The New School of Presbyterians, at their Convention, 1846, declared "slavery to be intrinsically unrighteous, opposed to the law of God, and precepts of the Gospel." A large body of Universalists ministers have concurred in a public declaration of the same character. The Old Church of Presbyterians, and the American Missionary Society, have been greatly agitated, but have suppressed, thus far, a deliberate expression. Books might be filled with the declarations of local synods, conferences, conventions and assemblies of churchmen.

The great controlling demand of the abolitionists, of "NO COMMUNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS," has not yet been adopted, but no one can mistake the alarming signs, which tend to this result.

Literature.

We have thus seen the condition of Church and State. The literature of the country is equally unfriendly. The abolitionists proper, boast of associates

of high ability. Their reports are prepared with great care, and display remarkable eloquence and vigor. The brilliant mind of Channing, the striking rhetoric of John Quincy Adams, the practical ability of Wayland, the graceful oratory of Sumner; the erudition of Barnes, the profound and impressive thought of Dewey—to say nothing of Phillips, Jay, Bacon, Whittier, Bowditch, Seward, and a host of others—have given a wide spread to their rooted aversion to slavery. Of Channing's works, hundreds of thousands have been circulated. The writings of Dewey are in the hand of every scholar. The seeds thus sown are matured and ripened by the constant culture, employed by newspapers and in the periodical literature.

We have before noticed the prodigious operations of the Society, in the circulation of their opinions. An extract or two from these publications will show the impression they communicate of slavery. We take from the most eminent and authoritative of these writers. "A slave country," says Dr. Channing, "reeks with licentiousness. It is tainted with a deadlier pestilence than the plague. But the worst is not told. As a consequence of criminal connections, many a master has children born into slavery. Of these, most, I presume, receive protection, perhaps indulgence, during the life of their fathers, but at their death, not a few are left to the chances of a cruel bondage. Still more, it is to be feared, that there are cases in which the master puts his own children under the lash of the overseer, or else sells them, to undergo the miseries of bondage. If my impressions on this point are true, our own country, calling itself enlightened and christian, is defiled with one of the greatest enormities on earth. We send missionaries to heathen lands. Among the pollutions of heathenism, I know nothing worse than this." John Quincy Adams, in a formal and public address, delivered the 4th day of July, declared,

that since 1830, *slavery, slave holding, and slave breeding, and slave trading*, have formed the whole foundation of the policy of the *Federal Government*, and of the *slaveholding States*, at home and abroad.

Daniel O'Connell, Theobald Mathew, and 70,000 others, addressed their countrymen in America, "that slavery is a sin against God and man: All who are not for, must be against it. None can be neutral. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion and liberty. It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation under this withering curse."

These are favorable specimens of the treatment we experience.

Foreign Aid and Comfort.

This movement at home, meets with aid and encouragement abroad. The abolitionists of Great Britain, in a single generation, overthrew West India slavery. In 1818, the Duke of Wellington threatened to bring the encouragement given to the slave trade by France before the Congress of Vienna. The French provisional government abolished, in 1848, slavery in her colonies, giving to the colonists but two months for preparation. Denmark and Sweden have followed the same career. Near one million three hundred thousand slaves, in the West Indies, have been liberated against their masters, under this European agitation.

The ministers of the church are the principal agents of this work. World conventions, Evangelical alliances, formal addresses by hundreds of ministers, and tens of thousands of people, to churches and communities in this country, calling for activity in prosecuting their work, contributions of money, expressions of anxiety and interest there for measures conducted here, are the important and efficient means employed to testify

that interest. The British government formally declares its anxiety to promote abolition. Thomas B. Macauley, Lord Palmerston and George Thompson, have arraigned at the bar of Europe the institutions and practices of the Southern people; while, the warning of the illustrious Peel is thus given: "There have been mighty convulsions in Europe. Their mighty heavings are already felt on the other side of the Atlantic. Look at Martinique. These are useful lessons, by which Brazil, Cuba, and the United States, will do well to take a timely warning. My belief is that the events which have just happened in Europe must precipitate the time for the final extinction of this slavery, and of the slave trade. I hope that the abolition will be effected, by timely precautions on the part of governments; but there will be an increasing sympathy with the condition of slavery. But, whether there be wise or providential legislation on the part of government, or not, I believe its doom is sealed: That slavery cannot long survive; that it must, at no remote period, be extinguished."

Of the Efficiency of Countervailing Influences.

The question arises, what has sustained the country, under this weight of adverse influences?

When this agitation commenced, the opinion generally prevailed over the country, that slavery was a domestic concern of the Southern States, for which no responsibility existed, beyond the States where it was established by law. It was treated in Congress as a subject of great delicacy, the discussion of which was to be avoided. When abolition was started as a Northern or National concern, it offended this opinion; it required much effort to remove the conviction and to destroy the sentiment of the danger involved in its agitation.

The administration of General Jackson, which

was then in power, was possessed of vast influence and popularity, from its popular sympathies and great principles, took an uncompromising attitude of hostility to it. His party, embracing a large majority of the country, sustained his position. The influence of the impression he then communicated is felt to this day. Through the long series of anti-slavery reports, the hostility of his party is always anticipated.

There was, moreover, a strong persuasion through the country, that the agitation of this question seriously menaced the perpetuity of the Union. The Union was then a source of pride and power, of influence abroad and security at home; and thoughtful and considerate men eschewed the courses leading to its dismemberment. The active intellect of the country looked to it for honors and preferment, and returned, for the glad hopes it excited, acknowledgments of its blessed influences.

The pecuniary interests of the country, dependent upon the Union, are enormous. There are office-holders and office-seekers—there are those whose positions in the States, depend upon the success of rival parties through the country: these all desire moderate agitations, within constitutional limits, barely sufficient to affect elections. The indirect influences were infinitely of more importance. We feel them in the convention which framed the Constitution. When the Constitution was under discussion, the Southern States—apprehensive of monopolies—demanded that navigation acts should only be passed by a vote of two-thirds of Congress. Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, said, “He desired it to be remembered that the Eastern States had no *motive to Union but a commercial one*. They were able to protect themselves. They were not afraid of external danger, and did not need the aid of the Southern States.” The

disagreement on the subject of the Navigation Act was quieted by a *toleration of the slave trade* for twenty years, of which our commercial friends became the agents. The first Congress adopted a Navigation act which has secured till now a monopoly of the coasting trade to the marine of the Northern States.

The same tendency to compromise for Government bounties, scruples of conscience, was shown by the manufacturing interests in 1842. The "home league"—representing the great interests of manufactures—in their address of 1842, employs the following significant language upon this subject :

"Now, neither the farmer nor mechanic are contented to be disfranchised, and debarred the privileges of freemen, whilst a portion of their countrymen, possessing a sure market for the products of their slaves, deny them the right of living by free labor, unless reduced to the degradation of working for the same miserable subsistence allowed to slaves. Even viewed *constitutionally*, the owner of a thousand slaves, *chattels of industry*, or *labor saving machines*, as they are called at the South,(?) has surely no more right to be protected than the free farmer, with a thousand cattle, or the free manufacturer, with a thousand looms, *chattels of industry*.

"Protection is due to all—we mean adequate, positive protection, *whether it is by favorable climate*, or a peculiar chartered grant, or a *discriminating Tariff*. Wherever labor, the great element of our growth, and independence as a nation, requires security and protection, there the protecting hand of government should be stretched out, with a wise beneficence. LET THIS PRINCIPLE BE ADOPTED, AND STEADILY ADHERED TO, and there will be an end to ANY INVIDIOUS INTERFERENCE OF ONE PORTION OF OUR CITIZENS WITH THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE OTHER. WE URGENTLY INTREAT OUR SOUTHERN FRIENDS, SERIOUSLY, TO TAKE THIS VIEW OF THE SUBJECT."

Unquestionably if the Southern States had yielded from time to time, to the demands of Northern cupidity, passively, "invidious interferences" in some degree might have been prevented. The enormous bounties afforded to the manufacturing, navigation and commercial interests, however, have had, and do exercise a material influence in favor of those conclusions, which strengthen the Federal Government. This is natural, and it is so.

There was another important condition of the confederacy, which weakened the force of this disturbing element. This was its size. Ideas circulate slowly in the new and unsettled States. Slavery, in

Texas would be comparatively a matter of unconcern to Boston, while Boston abolition is but little heard of in Texas. So in the Northwestern States, for a time, the ideas of Union, constitutional right, obligations to party, were strong enough to counteract anti-slavery agitation. The old ideas retained their hold there with much fixedness upon the people.

The increase of the conveniences of intercommunication, and the prodigious immigration to those States from New England and Europe, have overcome this influence. Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and Iowa seem to pursue the ways of this fatal agitation. Those people seem as much controlled by abolition ideas, as those in the Eastern States. There are other influences of an inferior value, but we believe that we have noticed the most influencive. We testify to the vast power of these influences. The wonder is, that they should not silence all opposition to them. The fact that this agitation has attained its present growth, against the power of these influences, is, in our judgment, one of the most ominous circumstances of the time,

The generation, tolerant of slavery from their long and peaceful connection with it, is rapidly passing from the earth. The men who will occupy their places have been taught that slavery is an offence, an execration, a blight, a sin. The warm, exuberant, united, sympathetic Democratic party of the time of General Jackson, is extinct. The words Constitution and Union have lost their spell. The Abolitionist boasts, with no little cause, "We have disenchaoted the mind of the people, in a good measure, as to the divinity of their parchment idol. We have taught men to calculate the value of the Union. The idea that loyalty and allegiance are due to it is fast becoming ridiculous and contemptible. *It is beginning to be looked upon as a matter of business—a partnership in trade.*" When we reflect with candor for one moment, what else could we

expect? A whole people is taught that their Constitution supports and upholds the direst, most abhorred, disgraceful evil that ever dishonored a nation. A religious people is taught that sin and crime were compromised with, in the formation of that Constitution. Can we expect them to revere, or to abide the terms agreed to?

The necessity for men to hold pro-slavery opinions to reach office has long since been removed. Corwin, Ewing, Collamer, Ashmun, Barnard, Hunt, Seward, Mann, Hale, Chase, are official proofs to the contrary. The South—reduced in its power in Congress, reduced in the election of President, the fountain of power—cannot count on her own sons, who look for preferment at Washington. Clay, Benton, Houston and others, openly woo anti-slavery power.

Then, commercial ideas—the pecuniary interests of large, and, if you please, dominant classes, never did and, never can maintain a party, or body politic, long together, in opposition to the moral ideas of the community. Institutions embody and manifest predominant thoughts and opinions. The mind of a community in its highest developments, and noblest aspirations, sooner or later, acquires the conduct of the community. It is in vain that we hope for a stay to this current from favor drawn from the transient interests and ephemeral conditions of society. Commercial ideas, connections, pursuits, are essentially unstable. They are derived from circumstances fluctuating and precarious. They do not bind the hearts and consciences of men. Powerful, then, as the countervailing influences we have noticed are, a fair inquirer must see that they have already proven their own inadequacy to the demand upon them; and that their value is in the course of daily reduction.

Of the Opinions of Public Men.

An inquiry into the opinions of leading and representative statesmen of the North, may be useful. We can gather from these various marks of popular sentiment, the lines of the prospect before us. "Something," says one of the older class of Virginia statesmen, of the Titan age of that Commonwealth, "has suggested to the members of Congress the policy of acquiring geographical majorities. 'This is a very *direct step* towards *disunion*, and must foster those *geographical* enmities by which alone it can be effected. The something, must undoubtedly be a contemplation of particular advantages to be derived from such majorities. If we can discover what these are, and can also remove the temptations, we shall destroy the most dangerous enemy to the best system of government which ever existed. And is it not notorious that they consist of nothing else but *usurpation of internal powers over persons and property* by which they can regulate the *internal wealth* and *prosperity* of individuals and States." Unquestionably, the employment of the Federal Government to affect the fortunes of classes and individuals, in the shape of bounties, protections and expenditures, has led to the sense of the overweening power of that government—and the consequent responsibility of our citizens—for all it does or omits to do. The State Rights politicians, who opposed the acts of the Federal Government of this character from deference to the Constitution, form a small class, at the North. Most of the Democratic politicians, acknowledge the power of the Government, and dispute on measures with reference to their expediency. Judge Woodbury, who has given the weight of his great mind and great character to the support of strict doctrines, confesses, "the States become weaker and feebler daily, as their number increase, and the whole Union increases—being now thirty to one, instead of

thirteen to one—and the Central Government becomes still stronger ;” and that the tendency is, “for the authority of the Union by *construction* to *absorb* and *overwhelm* the *natural and appropriate rights* of sovereign States.” He admonishes his brethren and the country : “A course of harshness towards the States by the General Government, or by any of its great departments—a course of prohibitions and nullifications, as to their domestic policies, in doubtful cases, and by implied power, is a violation of sound principle ; will alienate and justly offend, and tend ultimately, no less than disastrously, to dissolve the bonds of Union so useful and glorious to all around.”

The class of politicians connected with that of Woodbury, and in the politics of the country associated with him, are those who, with General Jackson, opposed the incipient movements of the abolitionists—who sustained the 21st rule and voted Calhoun’s and Atherton’s resolutions ; who supported the annexation of Texas ; who voted and supported in 1848 the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific Ocean, and who—continually receding before the mighty torrent of Anti-Slavery sentiment—have fallen back upon “Non-Intervention ;” who support the Fugitive Slave Bill as a right of the South, and who would have done more for the South, had it not been for the Southern barriers of Clay, Benton, and their Southern confederates. The representatives of this class are Dallas, Buchanan, Dickinson, Douglass, Bright, and we add Cass.

We think but little of their doctrine of Non-Intervention ; but it is no slight testimony to the disordered condition of the public mind at the North, that the friends of the South have been driven to, and almost driven from it. The doctrine that the Government, holding the powers of peace and war, of making compacts and alliances, of acquiring territories and forming governments, owing no duties to the proper-

ty of fifteen States on those territories, is a proposition addressed to the credulity of the South, and which nothing but credulity can tolerate. Still we recognize the statesmen who hold it, as the nearest to us of all who represent opinion from the North.

At a long interval from these comes a class, which constitutes what is termed the Conservative class—men who are willing to rest for a time on what they have. Mr. Webster is the representative of this class. We propose to examine his position. In August, 1848, Mr. Webster said—“My opposition to the increase of slavery in this country, or to the increase of slave representation, is general and universal. It has no reference to the lines of latitude, or points of the compass. *I shall oppose all such extension at all times and under all circumstances, even against all inducements—against all limitations of great interests—against all combinations—against all compromises.*”

In 1847 he said: “*We should take the first, last and every occasion which offers, to oppose the extension of slavery.*” We might follow Mr. Webster from the Boston meeting of 1819, when he urged the Missouri restriction; to Niblo’s Garden in 1837, when he forged the thunderbolts he not long ago accused Mr. Wilmot of stealing; to the Faneuil Hall address of 1845 on the admission of Texas, and from thence to show the ground for the statement in the Boston Atlas, “that no man had done more than he to swell the volume of Anti-Slavery sentiment.” In March last, after establishing that slavery could not penetrate to the Pacific territories after California was admitted, he declared he would not “re-enact the ordinance of God, or wantonly wound even the irrational pride of the South.” To those with whom the question is one of pride simply, this declaration may afford subject for gratitude. In reference to fugitive slaves, Mr. Webster offered a bill conceding the trial of jury to slaves at the

their

place of ~~his~~ arrest—that is, *all that the Abolitionists ask for, with the Constitution as it is.* Mr. Webster's defence of the Union is for the North, not the South. He offers no reparation nor emollient to the South, for the wounds of the territorial legislation. He wishes to raise a Union party North, to defend the Union North. Mr. Webster suggested many things in his speech in March last, that led us to expect he designed something more. That speech has had no conclusion; for the lame and impotent defence of the Omnibus could not have been in his design. We suppose he has found he could do nothing commensurate with his opinion of the national necessity.

It is the most invincible proof of the power of that anti-slavery sentiment which he aided to build, that his most brilliant campaign—that in which he conquered the territories acquired from Mexico, and surrendered them to *free soil*—has produced at home his arraignment and condemnation. The first of the Hebrew kings was sent to smite the Amalekites, which he did, putting the entire people to the edge of the sword, and destroying their cattle, reserving, only, the king, and retaining the choice cattle for an offering. For this lenity his kingdom was rent from him. Nothing could satisfy the demands of the exasperated national sentiment but the entire, absolute and indiscriminate proscription of their enemy. Mr. Webster, from all appearances, will endure a similar punishment for failing to heap scorn on that “irrational pride of the South.”

We come to that class whom we suppose represent the condition of the public mind as it now exists. These are the men who have no “combinations or compromises” to make with slavery—who stand where Mr. Webster stood in 1848—whose opinions have been embodied by Channing, and are enforced by Gov. Seward. Their opinions are thus defined.

Gov. Seward says, "the agitations which alarm us, are not signs of evils which are to come, but *mild* efforts of the commonwealth for relief from mischiefs past. There is a way, and one way only, to put them at rest. Let us go back to the ground where our forefathers stood. While we leave slavery to the care of the States where it exists, *let us inflexibly direct the policy of the Federal Government to circumscribe the limits and favor its ultimate extinguishment.* Let those who have this misfortune entailed upon them, instead of contriving how to maintain an equilibrium that never had an existence, *consider carefully how at some time—it may be ten, or twenty, or even fifty years hence—by some means, by all means of their own, and with our aid, without sudden change or violent action—they may bring about the emancipation of slave labor, and its restoration to its just dignity and power.*"

We have here an abolition statesman acting under and through the forms of law. The minority class North, then, allows of compromises with slavery—a larger class, still a minority, permits non-interference where non-interference is equivalent to and compatible with *non-extension*. A third and larger, the largest class, requires the *inflexible application of the powers of the Federal Government to weaken the interests of slavery.*

The position of this last class corresponds with that of the *Abolition* Societies whose Constitutions we have quoted, and who disclaimed all power over slavery in the States. These societies, however, originated two sects, one of which adheres to the doctrines of their Constitutions, while the other have ascended to more serene heights, of religion and morals. The first class, after purifying the Constitution, are willing to adopt a "Non-Intervention;" and they desire to purify the Constitution that the perfect law of Non-Intervention may be executed. Under the Constitu-

tion, this class feel “*bound to construe with the utmost strictness all the articles of the Constitution, so that they may DO NOTHING in aid of this institution but what is undeniably demanded by that instrument : and secondly, they are bound to seek earnestly such amendments of the Constitution as will remove this subject wholly from the cognizance of the General Government: such as will release the North from all obligation whatever to support or sanction slavery, and as will insure the South from all attempts by the free States to stir up the slaves.*” The first branch of the proposition above stated, constitutes the ground finally taken by the most favorable class to Southern Rights in the legislation on the territories, and which was upheld by a large Southern class. Thus, the writer we quote, in illustrating the position, insists, “that the fear of bringing a free man of color should dictate the legislation on the Fugitive Slave clause.” The grand principle to be laid down is, “that it is infinitely more important to preserve a free citizen from being made a slave, than to send back a fugitive slave to his chain. Let the fugitive be delivered up, but by such processes as will prevent a free man from being delivered up too. For this end full provision should be made. On this point the Constitution, and a *still higher law*, that of nature and God, speak the same language.”

Speaking of the former act for the recovery of fugitive slaves, this expounder says: “A HIGHER LAW than the Constitution protests against it. According to the law of nature, no greater crime against a human being can be committed, than to make him a slave. This is to strike a blow at the heart and centre of all his rights as a man; to put him beneath his race.” In a former part of this essay, I have quoted the remedy he suggests. He continues—“The Free States should say calmly, but firmly, to the South: We cannot participate in slavery. It is yours, wholly and exclusively.

“On you alone the responsibility rests. You must maintain and defend it by your own arms. Your slavery is no national concern. The nation must know nothing of it—must do nothing in reference to it. We will not touch your slaves to free or to restore them. Our powers in the State and Federal Governments shall not be used to destroy or to uphold your peculiar institutions. We only ask such modifications of the national charter as shall set us free from all obligation to uphold what we condemn. In regard to slavery, the line between the Slave and the Free States is a great gulf.”

We find here, we believe, the predominant principles among the moral, religious, and voting classes in the Northern States, among those who still adhere to the confederacy.

For it is not to be supposed that the spirit of Disunion is confined to Southern States. The situation to those who hold slavery to be a crime, as the Vermont and Connecticut Legislatures have denounced it, in Union with States which maintain it, and under a Constitution which guarantees it, is obviously of the most inconsistent and painful description. To vote for officers, to support a Constitution, which binds them to pro-slavery legislation, must involve the most distressing mental conflict. It is not strange that there should arise a party who refuse to submit to the requirement. “They saw,” is their frank declaration, “that they could not execute the *pro-slavery commands of the Constitution*, and as honest men they *could not swear to perform* them with the *deliberate purpose* of breaking their oaths. And what they might not do themselves, they *clearly could not appoint others by their votes* to do for them. The only political action that *lay open to them* was to labor *outside* of the Constitution, and not *within it*, for its overthrow. To *convince the people* that *their form of government* was the great-

est enemy of *their safety*, their *prosperity* and their *honor*; that all their *material* prosperity and *local advantages* were in spite, not because of *their confederate Union*; and to persuade them openly to repudiate *the compromise* by which they had delivered themselves up, bound in *political servitude* to the tender mercies of *their enemies*, and to erect a new government, free from the disturbing and disgraceful element of slavery, in which the experiment of self-government *can be* fairly tried." They say the solution of the problem of true political duties consists "in refusing to be partakers in any *voluntary degree* in the support of slavery in our *political*, as well as in our *religious* relations; of *disclaiming all connection* with a *Constitution of Government instituted and used* mainly for the *perpetuation of slavery*; of demanding an instant *dissolution of the Union* which binds freedom to slavery in the ties of an *unhallowed* marriage; of proclaiming as one grand principle of civil and religious fellowship and communion, "*No Union with Slaveholders.*"

This is the point to which the radical abolitionists came after twelve years of Association. As the Northern mind made one advance toward them, they demanded a further progress.

Look back from this point to the transactions of the last eighteen years. See the revolutionary movements of Europe, and the specific action of England, France, Denmark, and Sweden, upon the subject of slavery. See the stimulus that governments, societies and individuals there give to the anti-slavery movement in this country. See how fully the spirit occupies the churches, legislatures and people in the Northern States. See how it penetrates the literature, and literary discussions of the land. See how politicians and newspapers have been affected by it. See how it has eaten away the compromises of the Con-

stitution, and how its obligations are denied by sincere and conscientious men, and societies. Look back at this prospect, and we shall then be prepared to discern the prospect before us.

The Abolitionists.

The objection may be suggested here, that we overrate the importance of these visionary and mad fanatics, as they are popularly called.

The abolitionists have suffered great reproach, and probably labor under the popular displeasure. We admit that a large society at the North, would gladly be rid of them. The inquiry arises, for what?

The abolitionists have taken the colored race under their protection, and faithfully do they perform the trust they have assumed. They claim that *equal civil and political privileges may be granted to them*. Not only this, but that all partition walls, separating lines and repelling prejudices, between the races, shall be overthrown and effaced. Massachusetts prohibited marriages between blacks and whites. The abolitionists demanded and procured a repeal of the enactment. New York, Connecticut, Ohio and other States, either in part, or altogether, disfranchised the colored population. They have been called upon to yield *equality*, and action of Conventions and Legislatures has been compelled on their demand. Separate schools have been maintained for the races, and separate seats in public vehicles: these have raised an outcry in the same quarters. The churches will not exclude the slaveholder from church privileges, nor refuse contributions in money from church members. Abolitionists denounce them as the "bulwarks of slavery." They tell office-seekers they ought not to take office, because their oath to support the Constitution is an oath to support slavery. They disorganize parties and disturb election calculations. The accom-

modating morals of trade, and the suppleness of politicians and party newspapers are abominations to them, with which they hold no peace. In a word, they disturb the indolent repose, the fat slumbers, of the self-satisfied; they wound the self-complaisance of the timorous and compromising; they interfere with the selfish counsels and courses of the worldly-minded; they embarrass the policy of the discreet, moderate and circumspect.

These facts account for their want of popularity. It will be seen, that it is not what they do to society South, which produces their condemnation. It is the demand of fraternity for the Colored population, and the levelling of the White population, which awakens the popular indignation. The Northern mind, except in the single dogma of "no union with slaveholders," shows the most intense sympathy with their action. This is natural, too. The Northern people concur in the sentiment, that slavery is a sin and an offence. Can they then feel unmoved, when declarations like these are addressed to them? "Ours is not the model, but the warning of Nations; and this is owing to the disturbing element of slavery which our fathers introduced, and we suffer to exist, in our national economy. We see plainly, that the elimination of this abhorred ingredient, must precede any successful attempt to erect a true republic, enduring and flourishing, under the auspices of a pure religion. To do this, is the appointed and the chosen work of the abolitionists. In the presence of such a purpose the sectarian strifes, the partisan struggles, the social competitions of the hour dwindle and disappear. Ours is the only movement of this age and country, that will impress itself indelibly on the destinies of all coming time. While the ephemeral objects which agitate the contemporary mind must soon pass away and be forgotten, the change which we seek to achieve will

influence the condition of millions, as long as the earth shall endure. For such an end, we may well forego the temptations of a vulgar ambition, and cheerfully dedicate to its accomplishment the best powers of our minds, and the best years of our lives. For the blessings of our labors will never cease from off the earth, and their memory will live forever."

This must satisfy us how idle the talk is, of the arrest of this agitation. When Mr. Clay finished a speech in 1837, Mr. Calhoun, supposing his party would follow his movement against the abolitionists, said the subject was ended. The New England Anti-Slavery Society commenced with twenty members.

The perennial spring of the agitation is, the profound moral conviction which rests upon the minds of a considerate, thoughtful, strong-willed people. Men blind themselves, who do not recognize this truth. If we can judge from the events of the last few months, we should say that the question of dissolution will be decided at the North. We have not a doubt, that the Union would fall under the animosities which the deliberate and public removal of one hundred slaves, under the Fugitive Slave Act, would occasion. This sterile and unproductive act may, for a time, remain on the statute book. We do not believe this will be submitted to. Its execution, in any considerable degree, is simply impossible. Mr. Webster recognizes the presence of this spirit. His pleas for the Union have lost their character of holiday harangues. There is a soberness and seriousness about them which implies conviction. Nor, do we of the South, frighten him. The faint-heartedness, credulity, easy submission to self-deception, visible in the larger portion of the Southern States, have lowered us so far, that he would hardly throw a trope or metaphor to us. He dreads, and well he may dread, that stern and inexorable will—that earnest and un-

compromising spirit, which accosts him—to ask what treaty he has made with “the irrational pride of the South,” and to tell him because he has not executed the command for its humiliation and destruction, he is rejected and scorned.

Legislation of Congress.

The “Lucrative desires” of the Northern people, to employ the evidence of Mr. Madison, were aroused by the subject of the Western Territories during the war of the Revolution. “The contest for them,” according to Chief Justice Marshall, “threatened the existence of the Confederacy.” Virginia quieted the contest, by a surrender of the lands, and the ordinance of 1787 interdicted slavery from reaching them. When the peace of 1783 was concluded, the States North of Mason & Dixon’s line contained,

in square miles.....	164,081
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The States now South.....	647,202
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The surrender of Virginia effected the result so, that the North measured (square miles)...

South.....	385,521
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The next acquisition was of Louisiana. Its condition as to slavery was settled by the Missouri Compromise. The North took (square miles).

The South retained.....	284,445
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The acquisition of Oregon, Florida and Texas occasioned another settlement. The North took Oregon (square miles).....

Santa Fe country.....	102,000
The South obtained Florida.....	59,268
Texas.....	212,000

The Mexican conquests, engrossed by the North swell her limits, (square miles).....

in addition. Thus from 164,081 square miles, the North has grown to (square miles).....	2,382,903
while the South, from.....	647,202
has only reached to.....	860,831

This result, it will be seen, in every case, has been produced by false claims, and by the indulgence of false clamor, on the part of the Northern States. Their claim to the Virginia lands had no *legal foundation*. The Missouri and the Oregon restrictions violated the Constitution, and the attempt to coerce Missouri to abolish slavery is now admitted to have been unwarranted. So the Supreme Court of the United States has in effect decided. The legislation of the last Congress was a sanction to the hostile action and hostile manœuvring in California; and the refusal to give full and adequate protection to Southern property, on the common ground of the Union, was fraught with injustice and wrong. We find by this review, then, that the Abolition views of the Anti-Slavery party North, have received powerful stimulants from the cupidity and ambition generated in these States. "The great consideration is," says Mr. Jacob Collamer, "that *the people of the North regard Slavery as a moral and political evil, and its introduction into these territories would be not only an injury to them, but also to the nation. They consider that the extension of slavery over more country, is to encourage and perpetuate it. That the more it is circumscribed, the less is it productive, and the sooner will be emancipation.*"

Mr. Cooper, of Pennsylvania, exulting over the admission of California, says it secures "a *preponderance of the Free States in the Senate*, and the ability, if true to themselves, to *prevent the further acquisition of slave territory, or the extension of slavery beyond its guarantied limits.*" "We are admonished," said Mr. Hunt, Governor elect of New York, "that the interdiction of slavery in the territory that may be conquered or acquired, will bring the Union to an end. With equal frankness, let me assure gentlemen that the Free States will never consent to its admission as slave territory. That must be regarded as a settled

question. The Northern mind is formed and fixed." A recurrence to the late speeches and letters of Webster, Clay, Cooper, Benton, will show that the most friendly Northern party, to the rights and feelings of the Southern people—did not for a moment contemplate a surrender of the principle of "no more slave territory." It will be thus perceived that the non-slaveholding communities have arrived to the conclusion to prevent any addition to the limits of slavery—any increase to the power of the slaveholding States.

Have we any assurance that other obligations to the slaveholding States under the Constitution will be respected? The Fugitive Slave act of 1793, was rendered nugatory by the countervailing legislation of the States in the manner we have set forth. The evidence this legislation gives of opinion, then, is conclusive, if evidence was wanting, of the hateful nature of that act to them. We are assured by the highest and calmest minds of the North, of a truth, which we cannot ourselves deny, "that, in this country, no Law, no Constitution, can prevail against the moral convictions of the people. These are stronger than parchments, statutes, or tribunals. There is a feeling in regard to slavery, spreading rapidly, which cannot be withstood. It is not a fanaticism, a fever, but a calm, moral and religious persuasion; and whatever in our institutions opposes this, will be a dead letter."

What would Northern feelings dictate, in the case of a servile insurrection? One of the bitterest complaints of the Abolitionists is, that the military arm of the nation is pledged to crush "*a righteous servile insurrection.*" "We ought to say," says one of the brightest and clearest minds of the North, and one of those who prize the Union most highly, "We ought to say to the South, to Congress, to the world, we *will not fight for slavery. We can die for Truth, for*

Justice, for Rights. We will not die, or inflict death, in support of wrongs. In truth, this spirit, this determination, exists now so extensively in the Northern States, that it is impossible for a war to be carried on in behalf of slavery."

How stands it with the grant of slave representation? How long will the Constitution abide the existence of a power to alter it? Massachusetts has demanded its alteration, by the *unanimous* vote of her Legislature. John Quincy Adams, whose report was to suppress the anti-slavery agitation, imbued the public mind North, "that when the powers of *government* came to be delegated to the Union, the South—*i. e.*, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery which no fumigation could purify—no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom. By means of the double representation, *the minority command the whole, and a knot of slaveholders give the law and prescribe the policy of the country.*" Hostility to this provision constituted the ground put forth prominently and distinctly in all the discussions, in favor of the exclusion of the Southern people, from the common ground of the Union.

The Existing Condition of the Public Mind.

The evidence we have exhibited shows that slavery is a pervading element in all the political discussions in the Northern States, and opinions on that subject give the hue to the parties existing there; that, for many years, it has equally formed a leading subject of religious and literary inquiry. The result of the discussions has been practically and efficiently to negate the claim of the Southern people to carry that institution into the territories of the Union. We find,

also, that the compact in regard to fugitive slaves, has been evaded, and its obligation denied; finally, that the question at issue there is, whether communities or individuals can, in honor and conscience, live under a Constitution whose privileges they enjoy, and whose benefits they accept, and refuse or neglect the fulfilment of the duties it imposes—the reason being, that the fulfilment of the duty involves a violation of their sense of right. The Radical Abolitionist plainly and frankly declares, that he cannot consent to hold office, or to give a vote under a Constitution which upholds slavery. That he cannot accept the privileges of a Constitution and refuse its burdens. Therefore, he says, “No Constitution to support slavery, and no Union with slaveholders.” The larger class say, “We will accept the benefits of the Constitution. Our cities, palaces, shipping, manufactures all, are due to its blessed influences. As for slavery, we will oppose it, wherever and whenever we can. We will not suffer it to be extended. We will inflexibly apply the powers of the Government to its limitation, with the view to its extinction. Meanwhile, let us maintain Union. Abolition can best be accomplished through the Union.”

There is not much room for doubt, as to the final end of this contest North. The Radical Abolitionist frankly admitting the obligations imposed by the Constitution of the United States, and their total inability to fulfil them, under their sense of duty, implores a rescission of the contract and a dissolution of the Union. The Northern people generally, admitting their obligations under the Constitution, yet under subterfuge and reservation, while they accept all the benefits of the Union, escape the performance of their confederate obligations. The Radical Abolitionist—planting himself on the high ground of religion, morality and conscience, says: “We will not support a

Constitution that upholds slavery." The others, looking to the Navigation act, Tariff, Public Expenditure and Public Lands, say, The Union must be preserved.

The war upon slavery, will be carried on with the more steadiness by this party, in order to soothe the consciences which their selfishness wounds. The danger to the South from the wary, politic and worldly minded counsels of this party to their more violent associates, is painfully apparent in the history we have given. When, the South has been thoroughly aroused, they lull its mind to repose. When repose is for a moment obtained, they then devise a new attack.

The object of the first body of zealots who formed a society, numbering twenty persons—some of whom were females—*was the abolition of slavery in the United States*. This they have not yet accomplished. They have excluded it from Oregon, California and New Mexico—a larger part of the United States than the whole domain of slavery. They have united the North to a practical nullification of the Fugitive Slave law.

They have blackened the character of the slaveholder to the degree, that his name is fast becoming an execration. They have satisfied the minds of the most thoughtful of the country, that the Union or slavery must fall.

We consider it proper to present a picture of the prospect before us, as it appears to our eyes. We do not propose to discuss any remedy for the existing ills, or any modes or plans of redress. No plan or mode of redress can have any efficacy until we see plainly what is the nature of our disease.

The first step, then, in the progress to a remedy, is to find the extent of the evil. The second, is to make the decision that ~~the~~ *remedy shall be applied*. What that remedy shall be, we are entirely indiffer-

ent, provided it be efficient and adequate. The *union of Southern men*, in our judgment on this conclusion, is indispensable to the peace of the Southern States. A remedy is demanded by every consideration of public duty, and forms the condition of our political and social life. History teaches us, that the overturn in a State of its civil, social, and domestic institutions, by foreign influence is, in effect, a conquest over, and enslavement of that State. We shall not discuss here what the nature of the catastrophe would be, of an overturn of our social institutions. Wealth dissipated, commerce destroyed, production ending in the supply of earth's coarsest fare, improvement terminated, arts, sciences and civilization banished, constitute but a portion of the immedicable ills it would heap upon us.

The deliberate conclusion to bring down these evils upon independent States, members of the same confederacy, declared in the Northern States, and the connection, in some degree, of the people of all the Northern States, and in an extraordinary and dangerous degree of the people of several of those States, in this conclusion, is the crime against us. There is no Northern State which can plead her entire innocence.

We close this essay by quoting from a philosophic political writer, truths which contain lessons of the mightiest import to both sections of the confederacy:

"In all political societies which have had a durable existence, there has been *some fixed point*; something which men agreed in *holding sacred*—which it might be lawful to contest in theory, but which no one *could hope or fear to see shaken in practice*; which, in short, was, in the common estimation, placed *above discussion*. And the necessity of this may easily be made evident: A State never is—nor until mankind are vastly improved, can hope to be, for any

long time—exempt from internal dissension. For there neither is, nor has ever been, any state of society in which collisions did not occur between the immediate interests and passions of powerful sections of the people. What, then, enables society to weather these storms, and pass through turbulent times, without any permanent weakening of the ties which hold it together? Precisely this: *That, however important the interests about which men fall out, the conflict does not affect the fundamental principles of the system of social union which happens to exist; nor threaten large portions of the community with the subversion of that on which they build their calculations, and with which their hopes and aims are identified. But, when the questioning of these fundamental principles is (not an occasional disease, but) the habitual condition of the body politic; and when all the violent animosities are called forth, which spring naturally from such a situation, the State is virtually in a position of CIVIL WAR; AND CAN NEVER LONG REMAIN FROM IT IN ACT AND FACT.*

MR. CALHOUN'S RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the States adopting the same, acted, severally, as free, independent, and sovereign States; and that each, for itself, by its own voluntary assent, entered the Union with the view to its increased security against all dangers, domestic as well as foreign, and the more perfect and secure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political, and social.

2. That in delegating a portion of their powers to be exercised by the Federal Government, the States retained, severally the exclusive and sole right over their own domestic institutions and police, and are alone responsible for them, and that any intermeddling of any one or more States, or a combination of their citizens, with the domestic institutions and police of the others, on any ground, or under any pretext whatever, political, moral or religious, with the view to their alteration, or subversion is not warranted by the Constitution; insulting to the States interfered with, tending to endanger their domestic peace and tranquility, subversive of the objects for which the Constitution was formed, and by necessary consequences, tending to weaken and destroy the Union itself.

3. That this Government was instituted and adopted by the several States of this Union as a common agent, in order to carry into effect the powers which they had delegated by the Constitution for their mutual security and prosperity; and that, in fulfillment of this high and sacred trust, this Government is bound so to exercise its powers as to give, as far as may be practicable, increased stability and security to the domestic institutions of the States that compose the Union; and that it is the solemn duty of the Government to resist all attempts by one portion of the Union to use it as an instrument to attack the domestic institutions of another, or to weaken or destroy such institutions.

4. That domestic slavery, as it exists in the Southern and Western States of this Union, composes an important part of their domestic institutions, inherited from their ancestors, and existing at the adoption of the Constitution by which it is recognized as constituting an essential element in the distribution of its powers.

among the States, and that no change of opinion, or feeling, on the part of the other States of the Union in relation to it, can justify them or their citizens in open and systematic attacks thereon, with the view to its overthrow; and that all such attacks are in manifest violation of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, given by the States, respectively, on entering into the Constitutional Compact, which formed the Union, and as such is a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations, moral and religious.

5. That the intermeddling of any State or States, or their citizens, to abolish slavery in this District, or any of the Territories, on the ground, or under the pretext, that it is immoral or sinful; the passage of any act or measure of Congress, with that view, would be a direct and dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slaveholding States.

6. That the Union of these States rests on an equality of rights and advantages among its members; and that whatever destroys that equality, tends to destroy the Union itself; and that it is the solemn duty of all, and more especially of this body, which represents the States in their corporate capacity, to resist all attempts to discriminate between the States in extending the benefits of the Government to the several portions of the Union; and that to refuse to extend to the Southern and Western States any advantage which would tend to strengthen, or render them more secure, or increase their limits or population by the annexation of new territory or States, on the assumption or under the pretext that the institution of slavery as it exists among them, is immoral or sinful, or otherwise obnoxious, would be contrary to that equality.





